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The Antiquaries Journal / Volume 89 / September 2009, pp 21 - 33

DOI: 10.1017/S0003581509990023, Published online: 03 August 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0003581509990023

How to cite this article:

Javier Álvarez-Món (2009). Notes On The 'Elamite' Garment Of Cyrus The Great. The Antiquaries Journal, 89, pp 21-33 doi:10.1017/S0003581509990023

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NOTES ON THE ‘ELAMITE’ GARMENT OF CYRUS THE GREAT

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According to the latest collation of the Nabonidus Chronicle, a reference is made to Cyrus the Great wearing an ‘Elamite’ garment during the investiture ceremony of Cambyses. This study examines the likely characteristics of this garment in the light of a recent study of seventh- and sixth-century BC Elamite elite garments. Within this context it is suggested that the Chronicle may have done no more than state the obvious. In 538 BC, Cyrus went to Babylon clad in (traditional) Elamite (style) attire. This ceremonial garment is to be identified with a fine (perhaps cotton-made) fringed robe decorated with bands, including golden bracteates.

The *Nabonidus Chronicle* is an ancient Babylonian text inscribed in cuneiform script on a clay tablet preserved in the British Museum in London. The chronicle lists the key events of each year from the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus in 556 BC to some time after 539 BC, and includes a reference to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great and the beginning of the reign of his son, Cambyses. It describes Cambyses’ royal investiture ceremony, saying that this took place in the temple of Nabû at Babylon on the fourth day of the month of Nisannu (March/April) in 538 BC, a year after the Persian conquest.¹ According to the latest collation of this text by A R George,² a reference is made to either Cambyses or, more likely, his father Cyrus, wearing an ‘Elamite’ garment at the ceremony. The translation reads:

When, on the fourth day [of Nisannu], Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, went to *E-ningidar-kalamma-summu*, the official of the Sceptre House of Nabû [or possibly the *shangû*-priest of Nabû] [... gave him ...] the Sceptre of the [... Land ...]. When [... Cyrus ...] came, in Elamite attire he [... took ...] the hands of Nabû [...] lances and quivers he picked [... up, and ...] with the crown-prince [... he came down ...] into the courtyard. He [or possibly they] went back [... from the temple ...] of Nabû to E-sagil. [... He/they libated ...] ale before Bêl and the Son of [...].

In discussing this passage, George notes that ‘the detail that was most noteworthy for the chronicler was evidently the fact that someone involved in the ceremony wore Elamite

1. The ceremony took place during the celebration of the Akitu New Year festival, which was celebrated in Babylon in the first month of the year. In the Babylonian calendar, this month was known as Nisannu. On 4 Nisannu, the high priest of the Esagila (*šešgallu*) opened the festival, saying that the new year had begun. At the same time, the *šešgallu* recited the Babylonian creation epic (*Enûma eliš*).
2. George 1996, 380: col iii 24–8, tablet BM 35382.

clothing'.³ George elaborates: 'probably Elamite clothing means Persian dress'. This particular line was modified slightly by Kuhrt when she reiterates that 'the detail that was most noteworthy for the chronicler was evidently the fact that someone involved in the ceremony wore Elamite-Persian clothing'.⁴ Lastly, Henkelman has suggested that reference to Elamite attire may primarily be interpreted as 'non-Babylonian', the main reason being the archaic nature of the terms used in the *Chronicle* and the title 'king of Elam' given to Cyrus by the Dynastic Prophecy.⁵

A contrary view was articulated by Oppenheim who suggested that Cambyses' appearance at the temple of Nabû in Elamite attire, 'armed to the teeth with spears and quivers', was possibly an irrational act.⁶ The illogical nature of this act, in Oppenheim's view, relies on the idea that, by wearing an Elamite-style garment, Cambyses was being insensitive to Babylonian protocol and that the chief priest of the temple, considering this attire unfit for the occasion, therefore refused him the sceptre.⁷ In his concluding remarks Oppenheim stresses the peculiar nature of the entire passage, commenting that 'it would be interesting to find out what "Elamite attire" meant specifically in this instance in view of the well-known relationship between Elamite and Persian dress'.⁸

Without overstating the fact that the conqueror of Babylon and the restorer of the cult of Marduk (Cyrus) must have had an extensive range of ceremonial garments at his disposal (and, consequently, a wide range of symbols by which to state the personal, religious and political circumstances of the moment), it is indeed significant that Cyrus came to the time-honoured religious centre of Mesopotamia fully clad in what is said to be 'Elamite' attire.⁹ Because of the enormous significance of the investiture ceremony, it is difficult to believe that every detail of the performance, ritual dress and associated regalia were not carefully choreographed (for what must have been an extraordinary visual display).¹⁰ This is further underlined by the fact that on those exceptional occasions when

3. Ibid, 389.

4. Kuhrt 1997, 301. The lack of elaboration prevents us from knowing what George and Kuhrt have in mind by suggesting 'Persian' or 'Elamite-Persian' clothing. One can only guess that what is meant by Persian is the court-dress draped robe (which can also be ornamented with bracteates and embroideries: Kantor 1957), and by Elamo-Persian the *elamisch-persisch* robe discussed by Calmeyer (1988) as the product of two independent fashions combining Elamite and Iranian heritage.

5. Henkelman 2003, 191 n 35; Grayson 1975, 25 n 7.

6. Oppenheim 1985, 555–8. His translation reads (p 555): 'On the fourth day [of Nisannu], the É. PA priest of Nabû [... refused him, hardly: gave him ...] the scepter (NÍG. PA) [... and ...] when he came to the temple É.NÍG.PA.KALAM.SUM.MU as soon as he came. On account of the Elamite dress he could not [or: was not allowed to] lead the image of Nabû [... in procession ...]'.
7. Oppenheim 1985, 555; see also Glassner 1993, 204.

8. Oppenheim 1985, 558 n 2.

9. Cambyses used to be identified as the one wearing the Elamite garment but, as George indicates (1996, 380), it was after Cambyses received the sceptre of the Land that Cyrus, wearing ceremonial Elamite attire, took the hand of Nabû and, with the crown prince, went down to the courtyard.

10. One of the accusations against Nabonidus was that he tried to impose a foreign god and 'knowledge' alien to Babylonian culture. According to the Cyrus Cylinder, 'Marduk, the great lord, the protector of his people, joyfully looked at his (Cyrus') good deeds and at his righteous heart. He ordered him to march to his city Babylon ... He saved Babylon from oppression. He delivered into his hands Nabonidus, the king who did not worship him' (after Beaulieu 1989, 218). Incidentally, cults of Marduk and/or Nabû may have existed in Elam since the end of the 2nd millennium BC or the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. It is not unlikely that by c 600 BC

the (Babylonian) king could not be present in the ceremonies to 'take Bel by the hand', he was asked to send a garment.¹¹ The enormous significance of the royal garment is emphasized by another example, this time from Assyria, revealing that a *kusitu* garment was used by Esarhaddon as royal insignia: 'you have girt your son with the *kusitu* and [thus] you have endowed him with the kingship over Assyria'.¹² One may infer that in Assyrian and Babylonian investiture ceremonials it was the king's garment that symbolically represented the persona of the king, that is, his *vestis regia*. Hence, in the light of this tradition, the adoption by Cyrus of an 'Elamite' garment suggests a careful choice of regalia providing a significant reference to aspects of the political and cultural identity of Cyrus the Great.

The notion that the Elamite dress ought to be interpreted as meaning a Persian or an Elamite-Persian dress should be dispelled.¹³ Nowhere in the *Nabonidus Chronicle* is it said that Cyrus was a Persian. Neither is Cyrus ever identified as a Persian (or, for that matter, as an Elamite) but as king of Anšan or as king of Parsu, the former term most likely referring to the ancient eastern Elamite capital located in Tall-e Malyan, the latter term perhaps coterminous with some area of Fārs.¹⁴ Accordingly, there is no indication that, at this particular moment and from a Babylonian viewpoint, the terms Elamite and Persian were interchangeable. The second presumption, that the adjective Elamite is an archaism denoting a non-Babylonian garment, has all the signs of becoming an academic concern, given the relative nature of archaisms (defined as an antiquated word no longer in use).¹⁵ The overall pattern of language used in the *Nabonidus Chronicle* purposely follows antiquated scribal traditions well attested in both neo-Babylonian and neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. From the point of view of the Mesopotamian learned class, these words expressed a notion of time in which historical events were conceived mythically (not chronologically); it is in the scribal tradition to preserve, as it were, the essence of the past.¹⁶ As such, some words not only remained suitable many centuries after they were first conceived, but were not replaced or updated even with the emergence of new

these two gods were perceived as long-time constituents of the diverse western Elamite religious environment (see Álvarez-Món forthcoming; Henkelman 2008).

11. Black 1981, 54.

12. Oppenheim 1949, 179; Kinneir-Wilson 1972, 20.

13. The main reason has been clearly articulated in Potts 2005, 14, in contradiction of those authors who impute Achaemenid (Nöldeke, Prásek, Hansman, Vallat) or Persian rule (de Miroschedji, Waters) to Cyrus' ancestors, or who write about a Persian kingdom of Anshan (Briant, Wieshöfer, Stronach), and declare that Cyrus' family exercised sovereignty over Persian tribes (Dandamaev). In fact, all these scholars, and many more like them, have attributed a meaning to the Babylonian testimony that is unjustified.

14. Potts 1999, 288; Potts forthcoming.

15. An example of 'entangling' can be found in Eilers (1974, 27–8), who, in commenting on the archaic nature of the language used in the Cyrus Cylinder, suggested that the scribes who composed the text were no longer in control of basic principles of Akkadian grammar. Correspondingly, he indicated that (all italics mine) 'even the geographic terms do not match reality. Thus *Mesopotamia* still is referred to as Akkad and Sumer, *Kurdistan* is referred to as Quti, and *Fārs* is referred to as Anshan.' Further, he adds that 'Consequently, nobody is astonished by the fact that the *Persian worshipper of Mazda* presents himself in this Babylonian document as a servant of the gods of this country, in particular their main god Marduk (Bel) and his son (Nebo).'

16. The rationalization of time expressed in chronological or linear terms does not allow for a total grasping of reality as a unity, since physical reality is conceived by constant change; instead, linking past and present into a single unity forces a metaphysical notion of reality only interrupted by moments of sterility (war, famine, etc).

historical realities.¹⁷ This perpetuation of past historical realities, moreover, is not applicable to Elam, which clearly remained a political and cultural reality at least until the time of Darius I. It should also be noted that Babylonian astronomical and astrological literature of the first millennium BC conceived the word Elamite as a geographic term referring to the east or the south east.¹⁸ In sum and no matter what meaning we ascribe to the adjective 'Elamite', Cyrus did not wear traditional Babylonian regalia.¹⁹

The fact that the *Babylonian Chronicle* described what must have been an elite, ceremonial, non-Babylonian garment as 'Elamite' forces examination of the characteristics of seventh- and sixth-century BC elite Elamite garments. Despite the wealth of artistic, textual and material evidence, the systematic study of Elamite dress and textiles is still largely in its infancy. Recently, and prompted by the discovery inside the Arjan tomb of cotton textiles and golden bracteates (see fig 1), the author was able to assess the late neo-Elamite physical and artistic evidence and suggested the likelihood that by around 600 BC the ruling Elamite class wore fine fringed garments, possibly made of cotton fabric festooned with embroideries and ladder bands (a row of evenly spaced parallel lines segmented into squares or rectangles), and with golden bracteates.²⁰

By the time of Ashurbanipal, the ornamentation of elite neo-Assyrian garments had clearly evolved towards a more 'minimalist' display of arrangements and motifs, but this reduced repertoire of motifs contrasts with the greater affluence of bracteates in the shape of rosettes, circles or dots, and squares.²¹ Seventh-century BC Babylonian texts may also tell a similar story, as they reveal that the 'golden sky garments' of female divinities were thoroughly embellished with limited styles of bracteates: *aiaru* (rosettes), *nīphu* (disks) and *tenšia* (possibly squares).²² But perhaps the most notable addition to fibre used in antiquity was the introduction of cotton in the Near East. Indeed, as revealed by both textual evidence from Assyria and material evidence from Nimrud and Arjan, cotton can be said to have been introduced in Mesopotamia and Elam between the eighth and sixth

17. Beaulieu 1989, 62; Vanderhooff 1999, 19 n 45. For instance, the word *Gutium* (also present in the *Nabonidus Chronicle*) was considered by the Mesopotamians to be both a geographical term and a group of people inhabiting the Zagros mountains to the east of Babylon and the north of Elam. At the same time, it also refers to the archetypal barbarians from the east (Dalley 1996, 528). The word is attested in use in the Mesopotamian record from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC and is used by Ashurbanipal to describe the kings of Gutu and the Gutian people (together with the Elamites) assisting the rebellious Babylonians. The 6th-century Babylonian king Nabonidus blamed the Gutu for destroying the temple at Sippar, and when Cyrus II attacked Babylonia in 539 BC he did so with the help of Ugbaru, 'governor of Gutium' (Herzfeld 1968, 191–4; Waters 2000, 42 n 2; Van de Mieroop 2002). The lack of a single term to express 'Babylonia' as a unit from the Kassite period to the time of Nabonidus is a related example. Instead, antiquated terms such as 'Akkad' and 'Sumer', together with the 'Sealand' and 'Chaldea', were used to designate different parts of lower Mesopotamia (Brinkman 1984, 62).

18. Rochberg-Halton 1988, 51–5.

19. The Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy, a much later text probably written during the Hellenistic or Seleucid period, refers to the collapse of the neo-Babylonian empire to the 'king of Elam'. The reference to Elam is seen by Grayson as a deliberate archaism (Grayson 1975, 25 n 7).

20. Alvarez-Món forthcoming.

21. Ninth-century Assyrian elite textiles display the greatest variety of ornamental arrangements and motifs. The number of motifs in the Assyrian repertoire is reduced in the 8th century: 'in general square, circle, and dot filling ornaments in grid diaper patterns are common during the reign of Tiglathpileser, while rosette field motifs are popular during the rule of Sargon' (Brown 1980, 666–7).

22. Oppenheim 1949, 173–4.



Fig 1. Remains of cotton textiles and gold bracteates from the Arjan tomb.
Photographs: courtesy of the National Museum of Iran

centuries BC.²³ Additionally, material evidence from Marlik, the royal tombs of Nimrud and the tomb of Arjan reveals the existence of golden bracteates in the shape of rosettes, stars, circles and triangles; at Arjan, for instance, we have a representation of thirty-four rosettes and sixty-four disks with convex elevation and a circular row of granulation (fig 1).²⁴ Taken all together, this summary substantiates the presence of splendid wardrobes and luxurious fabrics, sumptuously ornamented with sophisticated embroidery (needle work), fringes (knotted work, including embroidered rosettes) and metal appliqués (bracteates).

Beside this background of material evidence, the most direct artistic reference to the 'Elamite' garment of Cyrus is supplied by the so-called four-winged genius sculpted on a stone door jamb from Pasargadae (post-dating c 539 BC).²⁵ The two doorways to the hypostyle building known as Portal or Gate R used to house four comparable images of the winged guardian facing into the interior of the building (fig 2b).²⁶ To this day, the winged guardian from Pasargadae remains the single most important surviving relief made during the time of Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC). Justifiably, this enigmatic figure has also been widely and differently described, discussed and interpreted.²⁷ The body is clad in a full-length fringed robe that passes over the right arm. The only visible remains of ornamentation are reduced to vertical and horizontal hems, which are backed by a narrow border of rosettes, each rosette having eight petals and eight minute sepals. Many scholars since Dieulafoy have commented on the close parallels between the costume of the Pasargadae figure and that worn by Elamite king Te'umman, as represented in extensive slab-relief narratives in the South-west Palace of Sennacherib and the North Palace of Assurbanipal, both at Nineveh (c 653 BC).²⁸ In these reliefs Te'umman is represented wearing a small dome-like cap with a horizontal band at the border and an attachment in the shape of a feather (fig 2a). He has a short beard and a hairstyle of distinctive locks reaching down to shoulder level. He wears a short-sleeved long robe, embellished with vertical and horizontal fringes and decorated with a band of rosettes.²⁹ This fringed garment style has been labelled a *fransenmantel*.³⁰

The *fransenmantel* style of garment worn by the winged guardian from Pasargadae (c 538 BC) coincidentally finds its most noticeable reference on Assyrian reliefs

23. Wild 2003, 49; Álvarez-Món forthcoming.

24. Distributed in an area associated with the chest of the skeleton were found a total of 98 gold bracteates of two different styles and three dimensions. Thirty-four bracteates are in the shape of a 12-petalled rosette with two small loops in the back; 14 of these measure 25mm in diameter and 20 measure 20mm in diameter. The remaining 64 bracteates are in the shape of a disc with a convex elevation at the centre, marked by a circular row of granulation; another circular row of granulation marks the rim; they measure 7mm in diameter and have a single loop in the back.

25. Stronach 2008, 160. The standard archaeological analysis and description of the relief was articulated by Stronach 1978, now complemented by a recent analysis of the head-dress and garment by this author (Álvarez-Món forthcoming).

26. Stronach 1978, 55 n 82, and pers comm, postulates that the pair of complementary standing figures in the (no longer extant) south-west side door could have been similar to, but were probably not identical to, the model of the winged figure. The suggestion is reinforced by the fact that Herzfeld's earlier soundings revealed the remains of human-headed and animal-headed colossi in the opposite, inner and outer main portals of Gate R.

27. Root 1979, 300.

28. Arguably, the standard date of 653 BC for the Ulai river battle remains open to question. Astronomical data afford two possibilities: 663 BC and 653 BC: see Reade and Walker 1981/2, 122. I am grateful to J Reade for this reference.

29. Barnett 1976; Álvarez-Món forthcoming.

30. Sarre and Herzfeld 1910, 156–7; Calmeyer 1988, 28.

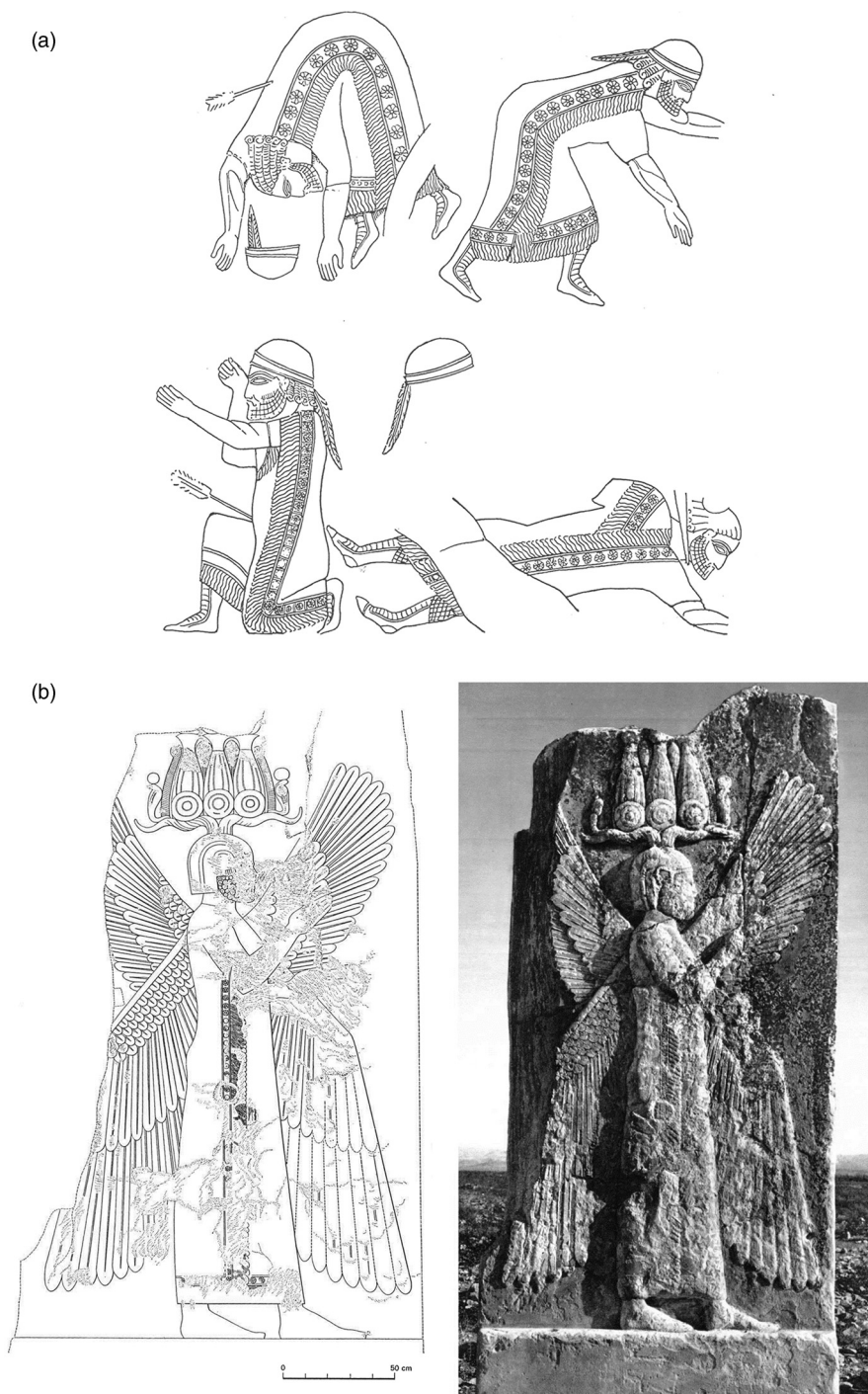


Fig 2. (a) The Elamite king, Te'umman. *Drawings*: Sarre and Herzfeld 1910, fig 78; (b) winged protective genius from Pasargadae. *Drawing*: after Stronach 1978, fig 25; *photograph*: after Ghirshman 1964, 128

manufactured more than a hundred years earlier. A key characteristic of the *fransenmantel* is an emphasis on conspicuous fringes ornamented with a ladder band of rosettes or disks. This concentration on the depiction of fringes and bracteates may imply either that the remainder of the garment was not ornamented or that the revelation of its ornamental characteristics was not the artist's primary interest, though we need to be cautious, as there are grounds for believing that most reliefs originally included decorative patterns and colours that, for the most part, have not survived (for example, compare the treatment of identical garments in two different media: those worn by the Persian royal bodyguards depicted in the glazed tiles from Susa, now in the Louvre, and those depicted in slab reliefs from the Apadana at Persepolis, fig 3).³¹ As it stands, however, the dominance of the fringe and complementary bracteates overrides any other consideration of style. Small variations also exist at the level of the fringe itself. For instance, the highland-style, segmented, fringed coat worn by Hanni, 'protector' or 'lord' of Aiapir (c 625–585 BC), was treated with long fringes and ladder bands of oversize rosettes (fig 4b), and the *fransenmantel* worn by the Elamite king Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (c 645/620 BC–c 530/520 BC) was ornamented with fringes and ladder bands of small nested discs (fig 4a).³² Nevertheless, as we have seen, both the garments of Te'umman and the winged guardian from Pasargadae have fringes with bands of rosettes but no ladder bands. In brief, these four examples of elite Elamite, or Elamite-related, fringed wardrobes provide a significant and distinct background to the characteristics of seventh- and sixth-centuries BC royal ceremonial garments. The distinctiveness of this clothing is further accentuated by a broader stylistic garment repertoire represented, at one end, by lavish Mesopotamian wardrobes and, at the other end, by a variety of new garment styles introduced during the Persian empire, including softer and lighter fabrics and pleated garments, which, most notably, are divested of fringes.³³

31. There is direct evidence showing that the Elamite reliefs from Īzeh/Mālamīr and, most likely, those from Naqš-e Rostam were originally polychromatic. The extent to which the orthostate panels and stele from Nineveh and Pasargadae were also originally painted is uncertain. Sporadic pigmentation on slab reliefs from the time of Ashurnasirpal and extensive evidence of Assyrian and Persian wallpainting would imply so, but this evidence is lacking from the works discussed here (see discussion in Álvarez-Món forthcoming).
32. For a probable date (c 625–585 BC) for Hanni, see Álvarez-Món forthcoming. The date for Atta-hamitti-Inšušinak (hereafter AHI) is disputed. The high date is proposed by Vallat (1996, 2006). Recently, Waters (2000, 85), seconded by Tavernier (2004, 24) and Henkelman (2008, 14, and 363 n 848), have contemplated the possibility that Atta-hamiti (Inšušinak) could be identified with Athamaita (reigning years c 530–520 BC), the leader of the third Elamite revolt against Darius in 520 BC mentioned, but not represented, in the great relief of Bisotūn. This is an attractive observation in the light of the marked differences in garment styles between AHI (as depicted in the Susa stele) and of those worn by possibly contemporary Elamite 'kings', Assina/Hashshina/Açina and Martiya, represented at Bisotūn (identified as such and ranked first and fourth respectively). On the Susa stele AHI is represented in an Elamite-style fringed robe, decorated with ladder bands of nested circles, and a heavily decorated under-garment and skirt; at Bisotūn the Elamite rebels are represented in the Persian-style pleated long robe, seemingly with full sleeves, characterized by what appears to be a lighter fabric divested of fringes. In short, if the correspondence AHI = Athamaita is confirmed, this would present a rare case of 'artistic overlap', where we find two contemporary, albeit indirect, artistic references executed in two completely different artistic styles and traditions.
33. In the case of Assyrian elite garments, for instance, a shawl and a robe worn by Sargon II (Albenda 1986, pl 93) are embellished with rows of squares, including an alternation of rosettes and a mural wall with three towers (on the shawl) and rosettes (on the robe). The series of King

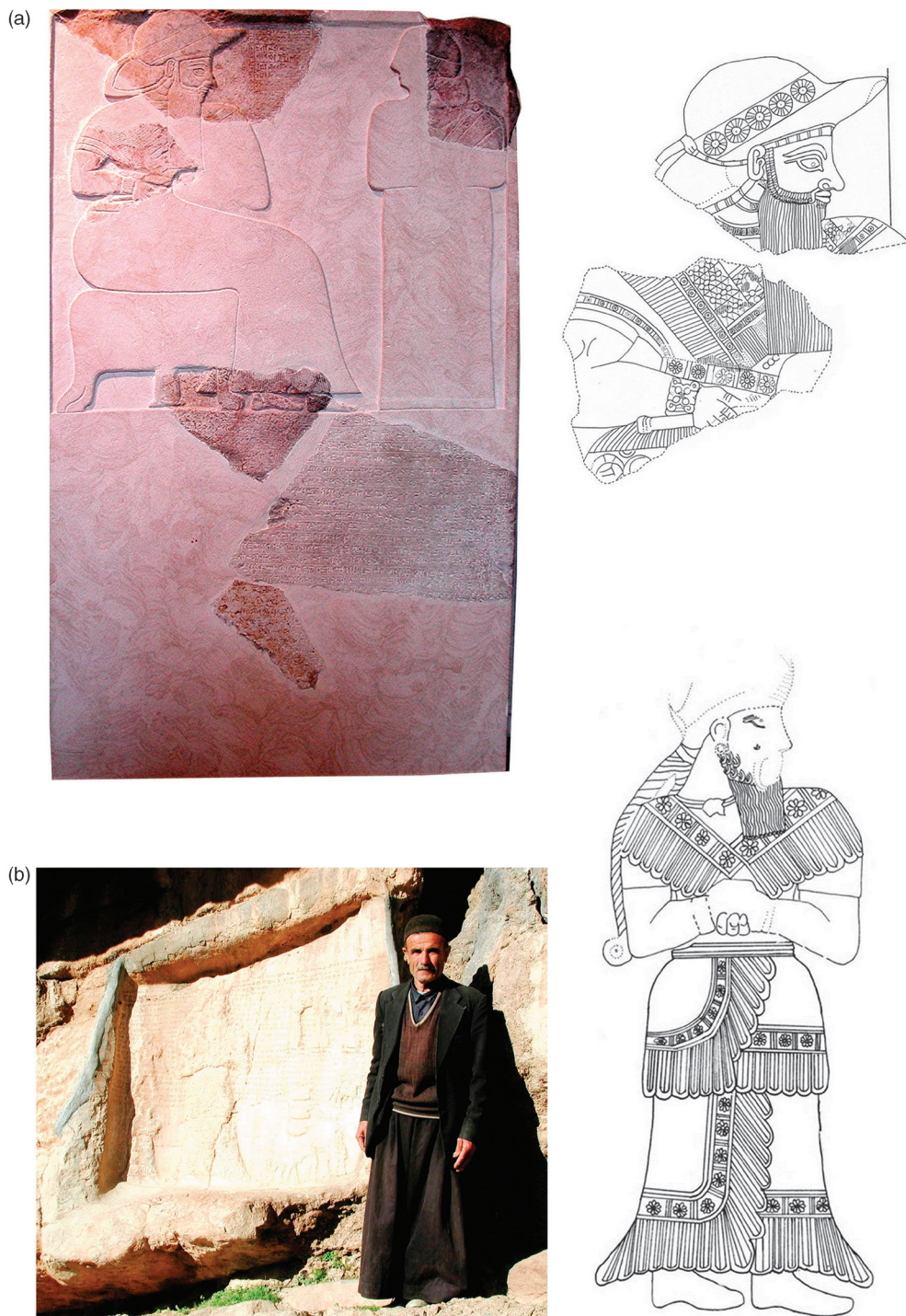


Fig 3. (a) Stele of Atta-hamitti-Inšušinak; (b) relief of Kul-e Farah I representing Hanni of Aiapir. *Photographs and drawings: author*

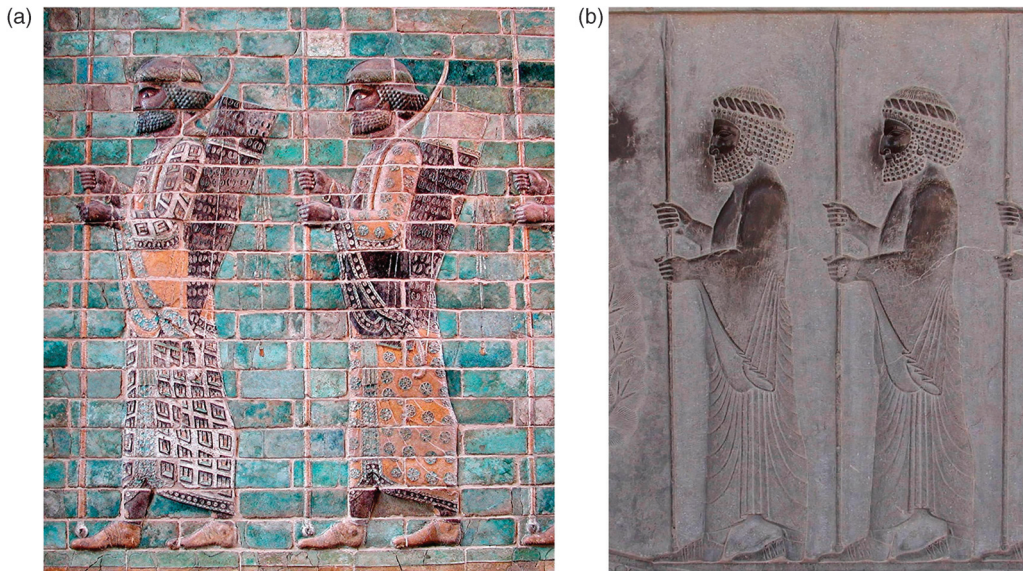


Fig 4. Persian royal bodyguards exhibited: (a) on glazed tiles originating from Susa; (b) on a slab relief from Persepolis. *Photographs*: author

According to Root, the particular choice of protective spirit(s) guarding the gate of the royal city at Pasargadae and depicted with a local facial appearance, wearing traditional Elamite royal costume, wings and head-dress, was ‘made to look the way it looks for specific reasons’.³⁴ Inasmuch as the combination of these elements represents a novelty, and while the actual channels of artistic transmission remain unidentified, they exhibit a language combining aesthetic elements borrowed from both the Elamite and the Assyrian artistic repertoire. The aesthetic connotations reflected, perhaps, political overtones, in which the founder of Pasargadae sought to manifest an illustrious past with direct visual references to the great urban civilizations of Assyria and Elam.

It is within the general background of elite Mesopotamian garments and the framework provided by the elite Elamite *fransenmantel*, exhibited in late Elamite art and at Pasargadae, that we ought therefore to consider the hypothetical characteristics of the elusive ‘Elamite’ garment of Cyrus mentioned in the *Nabonidus Chronicle*. The topic of

Ashurbanipal slaying a lion portrays a royal garment filled with rosettes (Barnett 1960, figs 60, 61, 63, 83, 84 and 88). British Museum reliefs 124886–124887 are said to depict a continuing narrative sequence, while, curiously, Ashurbanipal has been depicted wearing two different kinds of garments, one filled with rosettes and the other with rosettes and alternating concentric circles (Barnett 1960, fig 90). In the case of Persian garments, Kawami wonders if they could have been made of linen, wool and silk or perhaps cotton (Kawami 1992, 12–13). For the characteristics of Persian garments see Bittner 1987 and Shahbazi 1992. The ornamentation of the wide-sleeved and finely textured court-dress introduced during the time of Darius I patently follows formulas inherited from the Mesopotamian ‘golden sky’ garment and Elamite garment traditions, yet the change of style and, above all, the noticeable absence of fringes suggest an innovative approach to elite garment-making, which has political and social connotations yet to be fully understood.

34. Root 1979, 302.

the Elamite cultural identity of Cyrus has enjoyed the attention of recent scholarship.³⁵ The notions that Cyrus' cultural past is linked to the city of Anšan, that some members of the Teispid line of rulers (including, perhaps, Cyrus himself) had Elamite names, that the local administrative language, religion and artistic styles present a direct link with Elamite heritage, all suggest that Cyrus may also have modelled court etiquette and ceremony on an Elamite model.³⁶ In this context, therefore, reference to an 'Elamite' garment appears to be both a fashion statement and the logical manifestation of a cultural heritage that not only identified Cyrus with Elam but, at the same time, resonated with authority in the ears and eyes of the Mesopotamians. Cyrus' choice of outfit for this most exceptional circumstance was undoubtedly made in full awareness of its implication for Babylonian and non-Babylonian audiences.

To conclude, available textual, artistic and material evidence invites us to consider that, within the context of elite late neo-Elamite garments, the author of the *Nabonidus Chronicle* may have done no more than state the obvious: in 538 BC Cyrus went to Babylon clad in traditional, Elamite-style, ceremonial attire, conceivably to be identified with a fine, cotton-made, fringed garment, ornamented with ladder bands including golden bracteates. To a Babylonian audience, so it seems, the king of Anšan may not have been recognized independently from an Elamite cultural heritage. It must be conceded, however, that much remains unknown about the cultural characteristics of the city of Anšan during the sixth century BC and about how the Elamite past of Anšan was perceived during this time. In this latter context, the label Anšanite may have acquired a different meaning from one that would have been familiar to a Babylonian audience: it may have come to represent a new political reality that was viewed in the highlands of Iran as increasingly distinct from an earlier Elamite configuration.³⁷

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated, with gratitude, to David Stronach, FSA.

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35. Henkelman 2003, 194–5; Potts 2005; Álvarez-Món and Garrison forthcoming b.

36. In a different context I have discussed the possibility that the cults of the gods Marduk and Nabû were well entrenched in Elam by the end of the 7th century BC and the first half of the 6th century BC, which naturally bears on the subject of early Achaemenid Persian religious practice (Álvarez-Món forthcoming). The possible existence of Elamite-based cults of Marduk and Nabû in western Elam substantially diminishes the exclusive Babylonian character of these gods and, therefore, has the potential to undermine the often stated claim that Cyrus' theological justification for the conquest of Babylon and restoration of Marduk and Nabû was a product of calculated political opportunism: see Henkelman 2008; Henkelman forthcoming; Álvarez-Món forthcoming.

37. For more on the cultural identity of Cyrus of Anšan, see Garrison forthcoming.

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RÉSUMÉ

Selon la plus récente collation de la *Chronique de Nabonide*, on y trouve une référence au fait que Cyrus le Grand portait un vêtement 'élamite' pendant la cérémonie d'investiture de Cambyses. Cette étude examine les caractéristiques probables de ce vêtement au regard d'une récente étude des vêtements de l'élite élamite au sixième et au septième siècle avant J-C. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il est suggéré que la *Chronique* n'avait peut-être pas fait autre que répéter un truisme. En 538 avant J-C, Cyrus était allé à Babylone portant un vêtement de style élamite (traditionnel). On peut identifier ce vêtement de cérémonie avec une fine robe (peut-être en coton) à franges ornée de bandelettes, comportant aussi des bractéates en or.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Gemäß einer Neuabfassung der *Nabonid-Chroniken* wird erwähnt, daß Kyros der Große während der Königsweihe des Cambyses ein 'elamisches' Gewand trug. Diese Studie untersucht die wahrscheinlichen Eigenschaften dieses Gewands im Licht einer neuen Studie von elamischen Gewändern der Elite aus dem siebten und sechsten Jahrhundert v.d.Z. In diesem Zusammenhang wird angedeutet, daß die *Chroniken* lediglich das Offensichtliche bestätigt haben. Im Jahr 538 v.d.Z. ging Kyros in einem traditionellem Gewand im elamitischen Stil nach Babylon. Dieses zeremonielle Gewand wird durch eine feine Bordüre (vielleicht aus Baumwolle) geprägt und war mit Bändern und Goldbrakteaten verziert.